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The Gondi words used to describe masturbation, *bonde karsāna* for the male, *penda karsāna* for the female, meaning 'penis game' and 'vagina sport', do not suggest any high degree of social condemnation. *Bonde karsāna* is in contrast to *bonde endanna*, the 'penis dance'; as I show elsewhere, *karsāna* and *endanna* do not differ so much in form as in occasion. *Bonde karsāna* then is the satisfaction gained out of due order, in the wrong way perhaps, yet only a game. *Bonde endanna* is the legitimate, sanctioned, dutiful performance of the penis on the dancing-ground of the vagina at the festival of sex. Sex is a holy thing, a marriage or a festival, and you do not play games at a festival.

Homosexual practices are very rare. There is the usual coarse play among boys; they catch hold of each others' genitals; they sometimes ride on each other in imitation of the normal sexual act; in Nayanar little boys were taught to massage the legs of their elders. There was a story in Dongrigura of two chelik who practised mutual masturbation, and in the same ghotul two little girls were caught 'lying together like man and wife'. Boys often embrace, set in one another's arms, sleep together on their narrow mats under a single blanket—but this is all part of the general affection and intimacy of ghotul life. An experienced police official has told me that he has never known a case of sodomy from the ghotul, and the jail authorities in Jagdalpur, some of whom have had from twenty to thirty years' experience, say that homosexual intercourse are never manifested by the aboriginal prisoners.[1]

Erotic zoophilia is less common, as we might expect, than among other peasants, for at least in its more bestial forms it is, as Havelock Ellis says, 'the sexual anomaly of dull, insensitive and unfastidious peasants ... the vice of the clod-hopper who is unattractive to women or inapt to court them'.[2] But the chelik are not dull, insensitive and unfastidious, still less are they inapt to court women. Both boys and girls, however, enjoy the mixoscopic aspect of zoophilia, though Bindo's statement that 'fish copulate like snakes, winding round each other' does not seem to reveal very accurate observation. The chelik often dress up as animals and simulate their copulation.

There is no specific word in Gondi for bestiality, which is regarded as ludicrous and unnecessary rather than repulsive. Like all deviations, it is supposed to belong to the civilized world rather than to the Muria Raj. The chelik recall how it was a Gond of Kanera who was jailed for going to a she-goat and a Rawat of Bayanar who was caught with his cow. At Ulera they talk about a Ganda who went to his mare. Members of these castes can hardly perhaps be called 'civilized', but the Muria regard them as Hindus and representative of a different culture.

Allen points out that 'many animals are unsuitable for sexual approach except sadistic ones, but no doubt whole hecatombs of animals have perished for this reason'.[3] The Muria are kind and gentle to animals, though a drunken priest may sacrifice a pig or cock with some cruelty.

behaviour began after a time and developed in proportion to the period of segregation. M. Jankins, *Genetic Psychological Monographs* (London, 1928), Vol. III, pp. 457ff.

[1] 'Writing of the Ho, Majumdar has suggested that their low fertility rate may be due to sterility induced by a "homosexual fixation". "The institution of village dormitories definitely fosters homosexuality. There is a system of fagging in these dormitories. The smaller boys serve those of larger growth, shampoo their limbs, comb their hair, and play the part of girls."—D. N. Majumdar, *A Tribe in Transition* (London, 1937), p. 72. Unfortunately we know nothing about the Ho dormitories, and without knowing Majumdar's evidence, which he does not present, it is difficult to discuss his suggestion. But from a very brief investigation, it was evident that in the Ho dormitories the girls were segregated, and there is thus a different situation from that in Bastar.

[2] Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex* (London, 1934), p. 154.

[3] Allen, op. cit., p. 65.

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839 An unusual case of cruelty, with a possibly sadistic basis, occurred in 1934. Chaitu was then a young Muria of Khuregaon, and had been the Silledar of the ghotul there. He lived with his wife, a son and a small sister called Sukti who was an idiot child, aged about seven, deaf and dumb from birth and physically incapable. Chaitu was apparently always very cruel to this child and used to beat her for not helping in the house or playing with his baby. On 3 March 1934 he moved all his household goods from his village in order to take them to Pahurbel, where he wanted to live. The goods went in a cart and the family followed on foot. Poor little Sukti was unable to keep up with the rest and several times fell down crying. Chaitu was angry at this and beat the child with an axe, striking her on the right hand, thigh and foot. He dragged her along the ground some yards, struck her on the top of the head and on the left forearm with the axe and twisted her neck till she died. They left the body there and went on their way.

Chaitu was a young man when he did this cruel deed and did not seem to think he had done anything wrong, for the dead girl—he said—was an idiot and he killed her in a fit of temper. He was sentenced to transportation for life.

839 Exhibitionism and scoptophilia are unknown as *substitutes* for normal sexuality. Chelik and motiari are continually enjoying sexual congress in company; every night a boy can watch his neighbours if he wants to, he can show off his sexual prowess if he feels so inclined. Actually there is a strong tradition against 'peeping', except on the night when the chelik shut up in a room the newly-married pair. Then they may listen and try to peep through cracks in the wall.

Older men and women often indulge in 'indecent exposure' at weddings. I once saw a leading—and normally most respectable—Muria at Nayanar strip off his loin-cloth and dance naked at a wedding in front of a large company of women, including his own daughters. Shamrao Hivale witnessed a similar incident during a festival at Masora. Old women imitate the sexual act and fondle each other's wrinkled breasts.

None of these exhibitions can be classed as psychopathic or abnormal; it is worthy of note that I have never heard of chelik and motiari exposing themselves; in the senile it is probably a simple method of attaining tumescence.

XI. Ceremonial Cross-dressing

838 Ceremonial cross-dressing has been recorded of a number of primitive peoples and many different explanations of the custom have been advanced. 'Among the lower races', says Havelock Ellis, 'the manifestations of Eonism may occur not only, as in civilization, in a sporadic and isolated way, but also sometimes endemically in groups' and he suggests that possibly this tendency may represent not, 'as we might have been tempted to suppose, a corrupt or over-refined manifestation of late cultures, but the survival of an ancient and natural tendency of more primitive man'.[1]

Seligman used the expression 'ceremonial cross-dressing' to describe what he observed in dances of the Marshall Bennet Islanders in Melanesia and among the Lotuko in Africa.[2] Similar customs have been reported of the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo and the Omaha; and from other parts of the world a long list of examples has been given by Crawley.[3] Sometimes the change of dress is inspired by a dream and occurs occasionally and in emergency: sometimes it

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Eonism*, p. 33. [2] Ibid., p. 35.
[3] E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1927), Vol. I, pp. 318ff.

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is a part of the regular ceremonial of a festival or marriage; sometimes it is due to 'supernatural' inspiration.[1]

FIG. 113. Lamani woman's jacket adorned with cowries and used by Muria men for the purposes of divination

In Bastar I have noted two forms of this cross-dressing. Men sometimes put on women's jackets adorned with cowries when they go to prophesy in trance before a god and reveal his will to their fellows. At the bigger clan-festivals you may see a dozen or more mediums dancing and gesticulating in a state of ecstatic excitement, all wearing round their bodies these gaily-coloured and rather incongruous blouses.

But this is the only occasion, I think, where the male aboriginals of Bastar put on women's dress. It is more common for women to dress up as men. Bison-horn Maria women of Dantewara sometimes put on male garments at the great Wijja Pandum and drive their men-folk out to the hunt which precedes the main business of the festival. The Muria have the same custom, and the unmarried girls, dressed up as boys, dismiss the men of the tribe for a ceremonial hunt on the success of which will depend the value of the annual harvest.[2]

[1] For the 'Change of Sex' motif in Indian fiction, see Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 251ff. and W. N. Brown, 'Change of Sex as a Hindu Story Motif' in *JAOS*, Vol. XLVII (1927), pp. 3ff.

[2] Thurston speaks of a similar custom among the Kayi, where the women 'dressed in their lords' clothes' drive the men out to hunt at the Bhudevi Pandaga or Festival of the Earth Goddess. He describes a procession held before such a hunt: 'About the middle of the day, we saw a procession approaching us on the previous day, but it consisted entirely of women, the drummers and swordsmen being women dressed up as

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838 585 292 535 On the third day of a marriage, the motiari retire to the ghotul or their camp and dress up as chelik. They put on turbans, waistcoats and loin-cloths. They borrow boys' armlets for their arms, put knives in their waist-bands, and approach the marriage-booth carrying axes, branches of mango leaves and bunches of *dab* grass. They dance up to the marriage-booth, under which the bridegroom is seated, and ceremonially sweep it. Among the dancers is the bride disguised as a boy. All the dancers are in fact disguised, for they wind their turbans round and round their faces to make it as difficult as possible to tell them apart. As the girls go round and round the booth, they challenge the bridegroom to pick out his bride. He is supposed to be unable to do this, so at last, as the girls draw closer and closer to him, the bride suddenly darts out from among them and hits him on the back with her clenched fist. He jumps up and attempts to hit her back but she escapes and her fellow motiari do their best to protect her. After this the girls continue dancing for some time, then retire to their homes and remove their male disguise.[1]

This practice is called the Nemuldwar, the 'army of the bride and bridegroom', and the dance is the Choli Endanna or the Jhoria Endanna. The name Choli Endanna simply means 'the waistcoat dance' and refers to the male disguise. The word Jhoria probably means lowlander[2] and has been fully explained in Chapter I. It is now no longer used as the title of the tribe, which has become merged with the Muria. There is, however, a Jhorian Pargana or sub-division and it is said that the dance is so called because it originated here. Although the word Jhoria means 'lowlander' in comparison with the Maria of the Abujhmar Mountains, to the Muria and Gond of eastern Bastar it is the name of an older and more primitive people. The expression Jhoria Endanna, therefore, suggests a dance of old time and ancient tradition. It is the most primitive of all the marriage dances.

838 585 535 539 As the motiari approach and dance round the marriage-booth, which they do very slowly in a long straight line, each girl clutching her left-hand neighbour round the neck with one arm, while with the other she waves her bunch of grass and mango leaves to and fro as if she were sweeping a floor, they sing a number of songs. There is a considerable variety of these and I will give a few examples of different kinds. The first song refers to the ceremonial sweeping of the marriage-booth.

Diwān mīyār kilinta dewo!	Diwan's daughter is crying, Dewo!
Wāyu dewa wāyu roy dewo!	Come girl, come Dewo!
Wiyār hayyu wāyu roy dewo!	Come to sweep, girl, come Dewo!
Naling coo gording roy dewo.	The mandia is like aonra fruit.
Gording wori ola roy dewoni.	She went to grind the mandia.

men. The ensemble and dance were as before, except that the pantomime abounded in the most indecent gestures and attitudes, all illustrative of sexual relations. One girl slipped (or pretended to) and fell. Whereupon, one of those playing a man's part fell upon her to ravish her. A rescue ensued amidst roars of merriment, and the would-be ravisher was in process of being stripped when our modesty compelled us to call an interval.'—Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 66ff.

According to Santal tradition, witchcraft began through a transvestite expedition. Marang Puru had decided to teach men witchcraft, but the women made them drunk and then 'put on pagris and dhoties and stuck goats' beards on their faces' and went to learn the magic art instead.—C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909), p. 422.

[1] At Pardhan marriages in Mandla, the bride is sometimes disguised as a boy and her future husband is challenged to find her. I found a similar test among the Binjhwar of Chhattisgarh. The custom is doubtless widely distributed.

[2] See pp. 19–25.

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Diwān mäyār hilinta dewo!	Diwan's daughter is crying, Dewo!
Hirpong ichok wejing roy dewo.	The rice is like chips of wood.
Wejeng usi ola roy dewo.	She went to husk the rice.
Diwān mäyār hilinta dewo!	Diwan's daughter is crying, Dewo!
Purka pila wätteroa dewo,	She went with her baby on her back,
Diwān mäyār hilinta dewo!	Diwan's daughter is crying, Dewo!

The next song is about the girls' disguise. The bridegroom cannot recognize the bride now, but he will recognize her all too well when the marriage is consummated.

Burga chodi layor.	The boy is getting old.
Bāha kohors hors!	
Nandy layor intor.	Yet he calls himself a youth.
Layāh ondsh hitor,	He collects the young girls,
Layah tadla hewong.	He won't let them go.
Murka portāna intor.	He calls himself an orphan.
Ona chodo mäyndr	He says he'll see what happens
Mānna here wäyor.	If we come near.
Mähe ise wariyāntor.	He frightens us away.
Dulhin chinha mäyor,	He can't recognize the bride,
Mulnāh chinha mäntor	But he'll know her tonight
Layor ise ātak.	If he really is a youth.
Wāni muthka hewor.	We are going to hit him.
Nāndy āri inor.	He says, 'This is my wife'.
Bāha kohore hors!	

The next song explains itself. It must be remembered that each of these songs is being sung by girls led by the bride herself who insists over and over again that she is a boy.

Mutha hilly wäl lowa,	I come to beat him,
Nana jhoriydn layor.	I am the Jhoria boy.
Nāka hurai marintu,	Seeing me he is afraid,
Nana jhoriydn layor.	I am the Jhoria boy.
Pichāl tangiya kānj lowa,	I have a small axe on my shoulder,
Nana jhoriydn layor.	I am the Jhoria boy.
Kaviya kot karlowa,	I am wearing a black coat,
Nana jhoriydn layor.	I am the Jhoria boy.
Mandu kai wāndowa,	I have come to clean the marriage-booth,
Nana jhoriydn layor.	I am the Jhoria boy.

Another song seems simply to describe the various clothes and ornaments that the girls are wearing:

Aga haga ding parsing saiya sona?	Whence is the drum that sounds so bravely?
Arra nāding parsing saiya sona.	From Arra comes the drum.
Aga haga ding hundring saiya sona?	Whence is the *hundring* that sounds so well?
Kohka nāding hundring saiya sona.	From Kohka comes the *hundring*.
Aga haga ding chitharing saiya sona?	Whence are the cymbals that clash so loudly?
Gawan haiyadding chitharing saiya sona.	The blacksmith made the cymbals.

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Aga baga da dhoti roy saiya sona ?	Whence came the dhoti that looks so smart?
Gūnaon kaiyada dhoti roy saiya sona.	The Ganda made the dhoti.
Aga waga dāng muyāng roy saiya sona ?	Whence came the bells that tinkle so merrily?
Kaser kaiyadāng muyāng roy saiya sona.	The Kaser made the bells.
Aga baga dāng paniya saiya sona ?	Whence came the comb that looks so fine?
Layen kaiyada paniya roy saiya sona.	The chelik made the comb that looks so fine.

Finally, I will give two examples of the many obscene songs that are sung during this dance, for otherwise it is impossible to get a clear picture of the meaning and atmosphere of the rite.

Nana jhoriyāna waiwoy gāto tinwāna.	I am Jhoria: I will not eat half-cooked rice.
Nana jhoriyāna dais dudo poywāna.	I am Jhoria: jumping up and down I hold her breast.
Nana jhoriyāna podoh monde dehwāna.	I am Jhoria: I break the girdle round her waist.
Nana jhoriyāna hārspoche tendwāna.	I am Jhoria: I quickly pull off her cloth.
Nana jhoriyāna pudete bonde nehyāna.	I am Jhoria: into her I press myself.
Nana jhoriyāna teks bura mi-kachwāna.	I am Jhoria: I will pluck out my pubic hairs and throw them away.

In the same style is a Halbi Jhoria Git.

Go to sweep the booth, Belosa.
Where has the bridegroom gone?
He is nowhere in the house.
What can he be frightened of?
He is dying for his penis.
He is going to have his sister.
Where has he taken her?
He has taken her to the river bank.
What leaves has he spread for her?
He has made a bed of *jam* leaves.
Jham-jham he swings to and fro.
Bathing, bathing, he inserts it.
Get off, get off, brother, she cries.

These songs are sung by the bride herself and by a party of unmarried girls. They have changed their sex for the occasion and imagine themselves performing the sexual act as men. The significance of this will be seen when we discuss the ultimate basis of the rite.

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Various reasons have been advanced by scholars to explain this custom in different parts of the world. Frazer has emphasized the difficulty of the problem. 'The religious or superstitious interchange of dress between men and women is an obscure and complex problem, and it is unlikely that any

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single solution would apply to all the cases.'[1] He has suggested that the custom of the bride dressing as a male may be a magical means of ensur-

From a photograph in *Natural Man* by Charles Hose, by kind permission of the publishers, Macmillan & Co., Ltd

FIG. 116. Klemantan women dressed as men

ing a male heir. Certainly it is possible that cross-dressing has something to do with fertility. In Sarawak the Klemantan women dance in turbans and a sort of dhoti at a harvest festival which has been described as 'a celebration of cult of the principle of fertility and vitality—that of the women no less than that of the rice grain'.[2] Zulu women dress in men's clothes and go to herd their cattle to save them from disease.[3] Crawley refers to a custom of the Ngemte of Assam when men dressed as women dance in honour of the children

[1] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1911–15), Vol. VI, p. 260. See also J. Abercromby, 'An Amazonian Custom in the Caucasus', *Folk-Lore*, Vol. II (1891), pp. 179ff.

[2] Hose, *Natural Man* (London, 1926), p. 128. Hose gives a charming photograph, upon which Fig. 116 is based.

[3] Crawley, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 320.

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born during the year.[1] In the Mandla District of the Central Provinces of India, Gond and Baiga women from time to time dress up as men and go from village to village with spears and axes on a sort of ceremonial hunt. In each place they catch and kill a pig, an act normally taboo to women. That this is a fertility rite is indicated partly by the fact that it is practised in times of dearth and also by the songs used for the occasion. One of these is as follows:

Kutki kodon ke bharti hoe!	May kutki and kodon increase!
Kukra bilai ke jharti hoe!	May dogs and cats decrease!
Gai garua ke bharti hoe!	May cows and cattle increase!
Kukra bilai ke jharti hoe!	May dogs and cats decrease!

This is called Stiria-raj[2]; the custom is also known among the Maria and Muria. At Toskapal I was told how women made moustaches of lamp-black, put on dhoti and turban and went armed from place to place sacrificing goats and pigs. Kond women also dress as men and sacrifice fowls.

Frazer again suggested that the wife wears husband's garments in order to transfer to him her future pains at child-birth.[3] But there is no tradition of the couvade among the Muria, and it seems rather far-fetched to suppose that the young bride will already be so anxious about her pains as to wish to be rid of them even on her marriage day.

Another suggestion is that the marriage disguise is aimed at averting danger from the evil eye at a moment when the bride is particularly susceptible to the influence of hostile magic.[4] The marriage disguise has been noted for different peoples in Africa and India as well as in antiquity; sometimes it is carried so far as to substitute a mock bride for the real one. This was the view of Crooke,[5] after a survey of the Indian evidence, and the final opinion of Frazer.[6] Westermarck, however, who gives many examples of the marriage disguise, doubts whether all these practices can be explained as attempts to deceive evil spirits. 'Facts of this sort seem better to agree with Mr Crawley's theory of "inoculation", according to which the bride or bridegroom assumes the dress of the opposite sex in order to lessen the sexual danger by wearing the same kind of clothes as "the loved and dreaded person", and the greatest possible assimilation between them would best serve the purpose of neutralizing that danger'.[7]

But the Muria practice of not only disguising the bride, but also her companions, so that not even the husband can tell which is which, does appear to aim in some way at averting hostile magic or the enmity of the dead or evil spirits.

[1] Crawley, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 103.

[2] There was a similar custom among the Kol. 'In October, 1880,' says Haldar, 'I witnessed at Ranchi a curious sight of bands of Munda girls, wearing turbans, going about in procession armed with sticks, spears and axes. All the girls of a village so equip themselves and make a descent upon the next village to the east, carrying off whatever fowls, kids, pigs, and lambs they can secure. The village thus devastated takes its chance by sending a similar expedition of Amazons to the next village eastwards and so on. Retaliation is forbidden, nor is any resistance offered; and, moreover, it is quite legitimate for the invaders to seek their booty wherever they may be concealed. This festival, called *Jani-shikar*, takes place once every twelve years, and is supposed to have been started by a Raja of the Nag-bansi family, named Ganes Sahi, in the twelfth year of his reign.'—S. Haldar, 'A Curious Kol Festival', *North Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, p. 98.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Vol. III, p. 216.

[4] Crawley, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 498f. and 318ff.

[5] Crooke, op. cit., p. 8.

[6] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), Vol. IV, pp. 255ff.

[7] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, pp. 312ff.

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In an interesting account of the women's hunt in the Ranchi District of Chota Nagpur, W. G. Archer has traced the mythological basis of the custom, but he points out that it also fulfils a psychological need. 'We shall only be grasping its real value if we regard it not as fact but as poetry, as the expression of a need rather than a statement of a truth.'

> This need may be defined as follows. In Uraon society, the principles of succession are male, the method of government is male, the salient offices are male. The men are by convention and tradition the social superiors of the women. But if this is the convention, it is only partly the fact. In Uraon villages, the actual relation is one of equality. It is as equals that the men and women dance. It is as equals that a wife and her husband order their family affairs. And it is as equals that they work and live together. There is thus a stress between the formal structure of tribal life and the actual feelings and emotions that thrust upon it. To relieve this stress is the function of the hunt and the myth.
>
> The myth shows that although the men may rule, it is the women who are also men. In its reliance on the success of a simple trick, it expresses Uraon pleasure in naive cleverness and under this typically Uraon cover, it mildly pokes fun at male incompetence. The balance is therefore righted. The women are recognized to be the equals of men.[1]

It is possible that we may have to connect the custom very deep down with the same tendency that has produced the eonist deviation. The last Jhoria songs that I have quoted give some point to the supposition that cross-dressing is an expression of 'penis-envy'. I have only given two songs of this nature, but there are many on the same lines which suggest that for once the motiari are able to assert themselves against the chelik who so constantly establish their sexual domination in normal times.

Probably several different reasons have combined to produce the rite. The Muria girls dance disguised at the marriage partly to protect the bride, partly to avert hostile magic or the evil eye, partly to restore the sexual balance of the tribe and partly too, simply because they love dressing up and get a lot of fun out of it. It is very amusing to see the unfortunate bridegroom trying to guess which of the many girls before him, all looking exactly alike, is his own wife. If he chooses the wrong girl everyone is delighted; when the right girl darts out of the group and beats him it is an occasion not to be forgotten.

But such cross-dressing is always ceremonial. There are strict taboos on men and women wearing each other's clothes on ordinary occasions, and this makes the rite, when it does occur, all the more exciting and impressive.[2]

[1] W. G. Archer, 'The Women's Hunt' in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to S. C. Roy* (1942), pp. 187ff. The same feeling is revealed in the widespread myth of the Island and Country of Women, which goes back to the *Mahabharata* and was recorded by Hiuen Tsang. For an account of this interesting subject and full references to the literature, see W. Crooke, 'The Land and Island of Women', *Man in India*, Vol. II (1942), pp. 216ff; J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 263 and my *Myths of Middle India*.

[2] In an account of prophylactic disguises for averting evil in the Bombay Presidency, J. J. Modi gives three types of sex disguise—

(1) Proclaiming the birth of a boy as that of a girl.
(2) Perforating the nose or the ear of a boy like a girl's.
(3) Allowing the growth of long hair in a boy so as to make him appear like a girl.

See J. J. Modi, 'Prophylactic Disguise for Averting Evil', *Man in India*, Vol. IV (1924), pp. 282ff.

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It is also tabooed in certain places. Intercourse should occur within the ghotul walls, within the supernatural fence that protects from evil. It is often considered wrong, however, for a boy to have intercourse in the presence of a relation whom he is supposed to avoid. In the ghotul where they 'pair off', for example, an elder brother should not have intercourse in the presence of his younger brother's motiari. He should do it in one of the other huts. It would also be very wrong indeed, and be likely to attract tigers to the village, for a chelik and motiari to sleep together on the platform from which the boys watch the ripening crops. Moreover one must always be careful to choose a place which is not haunted by a god or ghost. In Kajen the boys and girls of the ghotul go every year at the Pupul Pandum sacrifice to what is now known as the Chelik-tarni Dongar. Long ago they went there to practise the Cherta and camped beneath a great rock. One of the chelik took a motiari apart and had intercourse with her. They knew it was dangerous, for they immediately offered a small sacrifice to the demon of the hill. When they rejoined the party, an orphan boy (whom the others were treating unkindly by refusing to let him join them) cried, 'You take care, the rock will fall on you'. They laughed saying, 'What does he know?' 'Then one rock spoke to another rock, "These children have done wrong; let us fall upon them". The orphan boy climbed on one of the rocks and sat on the top. Suddenly it fell and covered all those chelik and motiari.' When the people came, called by the orphan boy, they found nothing but a banyan tree already growing from the foot of a motiari which was sticking out of the debris.

Lastly, sexual relationships must be conducted in the proper manner. 'When there is consent and love there is never sin.' But it is considered very wrong to force a girl to the act against her will. Such cases of ghotul-rape are not common. It must be remembered that for a motiari to sleep with a boy does not mean that she is prepared to have sexual intercourse with him. The younger girls sleep for years in the arms of boys with nothing more than a little erotic play. Only after the menarche do they begin to have regular sexual congress. If then a boy forces a girl against her will, and the others hear of it, he is fined.

Sexual deviations are almost unknown. Bestiality is regarded as a crime of civilization, unworthy of a Muria. The devious course of modern European sexuality would seem horrible to so straightforwardly heterosexual a tribe. Homosexuality, which Stekel has called 'the insoluble problem of modern civilized man'[1] is no problem to the uncivilised Muria. 'Jealousy and homosexuality are the two primary causes of the disorder of our passions',[2] says this same scientific observer of the European scene. Will not even the reformer admit the advantage of a tribe which is so largely free from these two evils?

So long as sexual relations do not overstep these boundaries of good taste and morals, there is nothing wrong in them. Sex is a good thing, healthy, beautiful, interesting, the crown and climax of love. Love indeed is meaningless, inconceivable without it. It is right and good for a chelik to love his motiari and to lie with her. Such is the simple Muria philosophy.

This accounts for the delightful freedom from self-consciousness that is one of the most remarkable things about ghotul life. When after a visit to the Kongera ghotul, Walter Kaufmann exclaimed 'This is the cleanest place I've ever been in' I think he meant that. There is no sniggering, there is nothing cheap or nasty, there is nothing furtive about the relations of these

[1] W. Stekel, 'Jealousy' in Forbath, op. cit., p. 362. [2] Ibid., p. 366.

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

697 killed his wife, and of Marvi Kuma who described how much he missed his wife and children and was always wondering whether they got enough food to eat. Vetti Rupe told me that he was continually thinking of his family. Dasru, himself a magician, was worried because in prison there was no Siraha to consult about the various untoward things that happened. The three men who had been sentenced from Pinna Bheji and whom I met after their release said, 'The worst thing was we always were thinking of our cattle and our homes, and to feel that we had got into prison by accident. We could hardly eat for the memory of our children'.

697 These aboriginal prisoners are remarkable in not finding
●136 sex a problem while they are in jail. This statement will
539 probably be received with incredulity by many of my readers. I can only say that I have gone into the matter as fully as anyone could who was not himself a jail official or a prisoner setting out to investigate this particular point. The jail officials, who know their people at least as well as officials elsewhere, some of whom have had very long experience, have told me that cases of homosexuality are unknown and that even masturbation is not practised by the aboriginal prisoners. When I have discussed the same matter with released convicts they have all said the same thing, and I am inclined to believe them, because they have shown no reticence in speaking freely and even coarsely about other sexual matters. I think it is possible that the Maria who in his natural state is, as far as I can discover, completely innocent of any kind of sexual deviation simply would not think it possible that any substitute could give him satisfaction or indeed could be practised. The thing just would not occur to him.[1]

697 What is generally believed is that medicine is put in the
831 food. I do not suggest this is so, but it is what is supposed. One after another has described how he never got any erection at all while in jail, and several people have found themselves impotent for a time after their release. Barse Mata of Gamawada declared that he had never even felt

[1] It would be hard to imagine a greater contrast to this than, for example, the conditions described by J. F. Fishman in his *Sex in Prison* (London, 1935).